

One of the Strongest Bulwarks of Capitalism Against Socialism is the American Federation of Labor.

# The Industrial



# Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 8.

CHICAGO, APRIL 20, 1907.

50c. a Year.

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## An Awakening at Buffalo

Wage workers of Buffalo have had a long mental sleep, notwithstanding the fact that there is a city looked upon as a paradise for manufacturers, owing to the possibility of securing cheap labor. The working men and women have been so busy selling their hides, they have not had enough vigor left to properly size up the situation and come to an understanding that there is a way to lift themselves out of some, if not all, the bondage that has been infinitely worse than any chattel slavery ever was.

But, now, things are taking a turn. There has come an awakening and something is doing to prove that there is enough manhood and womanhood left for breaking away and establishing a new era for wage-slaves of the Bison City.

For the past three weeks an unwanted activity has been going on in I. W. W. circles, and a few determined spirits swore that there should be new life breathed into the organization which could and would mean better conditions for all wage workers here. The enclosed card will explain the call that was made to the workers of the George N. Pierce Automobile Plant, to come out and hear about Industrial Unionism. This is the plant which has the George N. Pierce Benevolent Employees' Association, a form of insurance which employees are expected to pay for and which is mostly "benevolent" to the capitalist class—as usual.

The call for a mass meeting was responded to by a goodly number from the above named plant, and they were plain and unadorned explanations of what Industrial Unionism means to the wage workers, and what Craft Unionism does not mean, were listened with great interest. Everything was carried out in the most simple and fraternal manner, and the effort at oratorical display, or soaring away on the wings of fancy or rhetoric. After the several speakers had made plain the facts that workers could own the tools of production; could become independent beings instead of commodities to be sold in the cheapest market; all the other good and true things Industrial Unionism teaches, preaches, and best of all can prove; then, applications were passed out to be filled in by all who wished to join the I. W. W. There were eleven applications for membership, with a liberal promise for more at the next meeting, which is to be held for the same industry next Tuesday evening. Among the eleven who came into the fold, were four S. P. men, who were very strong converts to the principles of the I. W. W.

At the last regular meeting of the local here, eight new members were brought in by one hard working and faithful I. W. W. man. All of this points to the fact that Buffalo is about to cast off the nightmare of bondage, and awake to the fact that the working man, so largely in the majority, can and must fight his own battles and that he can surely win out if he will stand upon the foundation of Industrial Unionism and not let fakirs and pie-eaters exploit him and create him an unwilling philanthropist to feed the rich, while he, himself, is half starved.

To the women of the country, a word is said: Do not believe if your husbands, fathers and men folk in general, or you, yourselves, have a "good paying job" today, you are safe from the economic dangers that all must suffer under. The "good paying job" may be here today, but tomorrow it may be a thing of the past, if the employer sees fit to put in a cheaper hand to do the work he is now paying what he considers "too much" for. As long as the capitalist class is in power, there is no safety for any wage worker in this world. All are standing over the crater of a volcano which may drown them in the lava of the master-class greed. And so, women, as well as men, be up and doing. Let all stand shoulder to shoulder, and remember that when the right principles are behind a movement, it cannot fail.

From this time forth, Buffalo is not going to be the place that manufacturers will seek as the Mecca of their hopes to skin, bleed, insult and starve wage workers. The hands of good and true men and women have been joined in a circle, which will never open except to be enlarged and enlarged, until it has been completed from Maine to the farthest ends of the earth.

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES," and at last, it is bound to have its own. *Organize, Unite and Fight!*

RUBEN M. BROOKS.  
Buffalo, April 10, 1907.

Industrial Workers of the World  
Headquarters—310 Bush Temple,  
Chicago, Ill.

## Portland Strike Off

Organizer Heslewood and the committee in charge of the Portland mill strike have about settled up matters connected with the struggle. The strike has been called off, but the mill owners are unable to operate their mills, owing to the fact that most of the strikers secured work elsewhere. The mills could not run one shift successfully so long as the strike ban was on them. From the standpoint of Industrial Unionism the strike has been a great success. Thousands of men have been educated and the organization greatly strengthened. The mill owners failed in every attempt to implicate the organizers in a conspiracy. As an indication of the substantial success for Industrial Unionism, it may be mentioned that the Portland locals have, while the strike was on, sent over \$300 to general headquarters for supplies of all descriptions. Locals of the Western Federation of Miners contributed to the strikers over \$1,000, while other locals responded liberally, so that at no time was there any lack of funds. A complete statement of the financial side of the strike is being prepared for *The Bulletin*.

## Across the Border

A good I. W. W. meeting was held at Hamilton, Ont., on Sunday afternoon, March 31, where the principles of the A. F. of L. were shown to be a fallacy in as far as being applicable to present day conditions caused by the development of the tools of production and the centralization and transmutation of industry into fewer hands, while the vast majority of the workers were left unorganized by the so-called American Federation of Labor.

Industrial Unionism was shown to be the proper, up-to-date weapon with which to fight the battles of the wealth producers in their daily class struggle with their exploiters and finally to emancipate them from wage slavery.

The tactics of this A. F. of L. against the workers organized under the banner of class unionism was compared to the tactics of the black hundreds of Russia who, calling themselves the union of Russian people, flog and shoot every member of the revolutionary movement and attempt to perpetuate despotism in Russia, while the A. F. of L. in America, under the name of Labor, organize "unions" to help the capitalist class defeat the attempts of the workers to better their conditions as in Youngstown, Ohio; Schenectady, N. Y.; Showhegan, Maine; Goldfield, Nev.; and Portland, Ore.

Craft unionism was shown to be for the capitalist class and wage-slavery.

Industrial Unionism was shown to be for the working class and the abolition of wage-slavery.

A good collection was taken up and a charter will be applied for at once.

Roadhouse and Gordon were summoned by the police for violating one of their laws, but in the "court of justice" this morning we beat them.

Meetings will be held every Sunday until the workers are aroused to the fact that there is a real organization fit and able to meet the master class and eventually lick them to a standstill.

R. ROADHOUSE.

## What Does it Mean?

For the information of Industrial Unionists and other readers of this paper, we print below a resolution adopted by E. J. Untermann in a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. We shall be glad to hear from anyone who can tell what it means:

"The economic and political organization of the working class is the natural and necessary outcome of capitalistic concentration. The form of the economic organization is dictated by the prevailing conditions of production, the form of political organization by the political conditions of the state and the federations of states. Both economic and political labor organizations are dependent for a successful promotion of their present and final aims upon a mutual understanding and co-operation."

"In proportion as the economic and political conditions are changed by technical transformation and the centralization of capital, economic and political organizations of the working class are compelled to face new problems and to adapt themselves to new conditions. In the course of this adaptation, difference of opinion concerning the form of organization and the form of action naturally arises among the organized workers and lead temporarily to the formation of antagonistic factions or to the intensification of the frictions between already existing factions. But the progress of capitalist development naturally tends to unify and solidify all existing economic and political organizations of the working class with the Socialist Party, which represents politically the entire working class of organized laborers."

"So far as the members of the Socialist party are able to exert any influence on their fellow workers, they should endeavor to spread the understanding of the Socialist program, if possible, join the union of his craft and work with all energy and tact for the adoption of a program of economic organization, which shall be considered as the basis of the working class movement, and as best calculated to effect the complete emancipation of the working class from class rule and wage slavery."

## The Paragon to the Plutocrat

"October 1, 1904.—My Dear Mr. Harriman: A suggestion has come to me in a round-about way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do.

"If you think THERE IS ANY DANGER OF YOUR VISIT TO ME MAKING TROUBLE, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or any matter in which I COULD AID, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and then, a few weeks hence, BEFORE I WRITE MY MESSAGE, I shall get you to COME DOWN TO DISCUSS CERTAIN GOVERNMENT MATTERS not connected with the campaign. With great regards, sincerely yours,

(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

## Roosevelt Takes a Hand

Listen, you men of the I. W. W., even the "great strenuous," Teddy the first, taken notice of us in the Sagebrush State. Roosevelt and Gompers have come forth to save Goldfield, Nevada. From whom? From honest workingmen who have organized to protect themselves from the encroachment of their exploiters. Gompers has sent his man Friday, Grant Hamilton, name, and this worthy is at his old trade organizing scabs by using threats substantiated and carried out by the Citizens' Alliance to intimidate members of the I. W. W. or Local No. 220 to withdraw and join the A. F. of L. This Grant Hamilton has a record. He is well known in Denver and Colorado. He was expelled from the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Assembly of Denver. After supporting a co-operative store on the floor, he visited the local unions to oppose the proposition.

He was the one who was sent to the Grapple Creek district to organize the scabs in the A. F. of L. by invitation of the mine owners' association. In short, he is the confidence man of Gompers and in partnership with J. D. Pierce, is doing all the nefarious work of the capitalist class in the name of organized labor.

Seventy-five per cent of the business men of Goldfield have locked out the members of No. 220. They shut down their places of business and told their help to join the A. F. of L. or there would be no work for them. Grant Hamilton organized all those who obeyed the orders of their masters. One staunch labor member of No. 220 refused, Mrs. Elizabeth Alley by name, and employed at the postoffice; she always wore her button in a conspicuous place, so our "law and order" people tried to get the postmaster to discharge her, but he would not do it, as she was giving entire satisfaction and he claimed she was the best worker in the office.

But our worthy citizens were not to be crossed by a petty postmaster. They petitioned the "strenuous" itself and down came the big stick and device of making a living. A message, signed by Pres. Roosevelt, ordered the postmaster to discharge Mrs. Alley. She was told to quit the I. W. W. and join the A. F. of L. or quit her position. She informed him that the job was not good enough to stand between her and the I. W. W.

Fellow workingmen, the fight is on against the working class union; the capitalist class know that after the working class is organized in an organization like the I. W. W. their end is near. They are going to ring the bells of death over Industrial Unionism here in Nevada. Will they succeed? I say no. They may cloud the brains of the working class for a while but they cannot destroy the instinct of the proletarian.

Grant Hamilton addressed a mass meeting at the Presbyterian church and the language and vituperation he used would cause any person to blush.

The combination is complete; everything is being used to perpetuate the capitalist system.

WM. JURGENSE.

There should be received at the General Headquarters during the next ten days orders for thousands of copies in bundles for the May Labor Day issue of *The Bulletin*. There will be a fine opportunity for propaganda through the circulation of this paper, containing as it will articles specially contributed by a number of able writers. The charge for bundles is one cent a copy, with express charge added. The reason for this charge is explained under the heading "Even This Will Not Stop Us." Read it.

## A Trick that Failed

One of the dozen local unions that stayed with Sherman's bunch of reactionaries was a local of lumbermen at Somers, Mont., the members of which were deceived and misled by false reports. This union got involved in a strike and needed assistance. Sherman sent an appeal to the Workingmen's Union of Butte, asking that organization to contribute to the striking lumbermen. The Butte union was told that the amount contributed could be deducted from the per capita tax. Very pretty scheme, if it would work; but it didn't. The Butte local has not paid per capita tax on a single man to Sherman since the convention, and failed to see how any contribution they might give could be deducted from a per capita tax they had no intention of paying. The trick was too cheap to fool them. They were not ready to give Sherman a chance to say that they were paying tax" to him. Dan McDonald tried to get it through, but failed. The Workingmen's Union of Butte is not paying out tax in that direction, whereas Dan is sore and disappointed. The Butte union did send \$25 to the strikers at Somers, an outright donation; but another donation of \$25 was sent to the striking I. W. W. millmen at Portland, where we are satisfied, the Somers lumbermen and Portland millmen are satisfied, and everybody feels good except Sherman, McDonald and the reactionaries.

## Who Killed Steunenberg?

Boise, Idaho.—The federal grand jury, in session here for some time, has been engaged the past week in probing land frauds and particularly conditions surrounding the acquisition of a large tract of timber land by the Barber Lumber Company. This investigation and the testimony of witnesses has given rise to persistent rumors connecting the late Governor Steunenberg with some of the transactions.

The latter in his life time sold large tracts of land to the corporation. It is probably from the fact that rumors connect his name with the disclosures said to have been made before the grand jury.

John Kinkaid, a former Denver lawyer, has been arrested, the charges growing out of the grand jury disclosures. Rumor also connects Kinkaid's name with Steunenberg's in public land transactions. It is said that Steunenberg owed Kinkaid a large sum of money at the time of his death which Steunenberg had refused to pay.

On Thursday last J. F. Nugent, one of local counsel for Moyer and Haywood, received an anonymous note through the mail that excites his curiosity, although he places no particular stress upon it. It is written in capital letters to prevent the being identified, but purports to be written by one of the federal grand jurors.

The note follows: "If you will look into the grand jury investigation you will find why and who killed Frank Steunenberg. Treat this as confidential." (Signed) JURYMAN.

## Preston-Smith Defense Fund

The following contributions have been received at General Headquarters for the defense of Fellow Workers Preston and Smith, of Goldfield, Nevada:

Section	Amount
Vancouver, B. C. Socialist Labor Party	\$25.00
P. J. Kirby, Chicago	1.00
W. E. Trautmann, Chicago	2.00
A. S. Edwards, Chicago	2.00
Otto Jucht, Chicago	2.00
Total	\$34.00

## Five Thousand Protest

A meeting of the Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone protest committee of Detroit, with 5,000 workmen in 32 organizations represented, was held at Combs Hall, April 10, 1907. The following resolutions were adopted and ordered to be sent to the President of the United States and the press, viz.:

Whereas, President Roosevelt, in the course of a political controversy, has seen fit to refer to Haywood and Moyer as though they were convicted felons; instead of which they are innocent men forcibly deprived of the fundamental rights of citizenship; this having been accomplished by kidnapping on the part of the Governors of Idaho and Colorado; and

Whereas, These innocent men have expressed their opinion that the President's insinuation has exerted a great influence over the public against these prisoners; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the workmen of Detroit in meeting assembled, condemn this violent and uncalled for outbreak on the part of the president and demand a retraction of the same.

GUSTAV DIENLE,  
President.

HENRY KUMMEROW,  
Secretary.

## Declares for Industrial Unionism

The editor of the Graham County Advocate, published at Clifton, Arizona, was asked if his paper proposed to enunciate revolutionary doctrine. We quote the essence of his reply:

"The Advocate upholds the political principles of Socialism and the economic principle of industrial unionism, and both of these are pledged to fight for the complete overthrow of capitalism and the control of the avenues of production by the people in common. This will necessarily involve a revolution, therefore we are revolutionary. It is to organization. However, they country will have to contend for the mastery on a hundred battlefields, but that it will ultimately triumph we do not for a moment doubt."

## Roumanian Workingmen

The letter which follows, addressed to General Secretary Trautmann, will interest Industrial Unionists everywhere. It contains information of great value regarding workers employed in the steel and iron industries:

Two or three days after the Second Annual convention adjourned, I will you a short visit in the temporary headquarters. It was just a few hours before my leaving Chicago, where I went to attend the convention. Although my intention was to see you, I would have left Chicago without doing so, on the ground that you were busy with matters of vital importance to our organization. Being, however, urged by some friends, I went to headquarters and had a short talk with you. My subject was the foreign laborers in the steel and iron industries.

Now the case is this: About ten months ago some hardy Industrial Workers (M. & M. Dept.) residing in the tri-cities (Madison, Venice, Granite) across the river, came to me and told me that in their district there are employed in the foundries, car shops, etc., thousands of my fellow countrymen, and that they show a most remarkable willingness to organize in a form of organization like ours. Those comrades told me also that they were looking for me to assist them, as they knew that I could speak their language.

This was a surprise to me as I knew that outside of persecuted Jews, very few of the others leave Roumania, and that the Jews can be easily reached by Jewish literature on the one hand, and on the other (the Jews) soon pick up enough of English as to understand and be understood. Therefore, I concluded that they are not Jews. However, I soon made out what that "Roumanian" element was made of. In fact there are by far more Roumanians outside of Roumania than in that country proper. Roumania, which politically is Russia, has been part of Roumania, and now while under the Czar's government, they are still Roumanians as far as language, etc., goes. The same is true of the Austrian province Bucovina, the Hungarian province of Transylvania, the Turkish province Macedonia, etc., so that, while very few natives of Roumania proper come to America, yet a large portion of what is designated in pure and simple language as the "underlying class of the proletariat" is speaking the Roumanian language. Still, I did not think much of it as I know by experience that the Americans as a rule make no distinction between the many nationalities inhabiting South-Central and Southeast of Europe. A good example of this I find in the stenographic report of the last convention, Resolution No. 103. The resolution resolves that literature be printed in the Macedonian language, when, as a matter of fact, there is no such thing as Macedonian spoken by Roumanians, Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Turks, each of

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them in about equal number. The Americans call them all Huns, or Pollaks or Greeks, or Austrians, and others. I would be as much as I could.

The following Sunday I and Comrade Ruth of Granite went to work and put in about eight hours. Visited several boarding houses and spoke to perhaps 200 Roumanians and others. I would be unable to tell what I learned in those few hours spent amongst them. I was convinced, however, that the I. W. W. was organized on purpose for them. These despised wage slaves without any organization in opposition to the so-called labor unions were conducting strikes in a wonderful manner. The Commonwealth Steel & Foundry Co. was but once tied up and that was done by said undesirable. But their typical strikes are somewhat in the following fashion: One morning, 100 or 200 of them come to work as usual but refuse to work. They stand in groups and discuss any and everything. The bosses would come to them, trying to make them work. They would tell the bosses that they want a raise or something else, but would not even ask the bosses for an answer. They'd leave the shop and come back the next morning to do the same thing as on the previous day. In a few days if they don't gain their point they would suddenly go back to work, work a day or two and stop again. No agreements to bind them; no leaders to sell them out; and no committees to be blacklisted or discharged.

As I said they have no organization. This, however, is not considered by them as a virtue. They realize the necessity of organization. However, they were always treated with contempt by "organized labor."

I will give an instance: In one of the shops at a certain kind of work, the American laborers have a union affiliated with the A. F. of L. and they shop they work together with non-union men. These non-union men, these foreigners, tried to get in said unions, but were not admitted, as they only accept "white people," as they would say. The union had an agreement with the company for a certain length of time and the wage of \$1.75. One fine morning the foreigners ceased work. They wanted \$2 per day. In a couple of hours they got the \$2. Not so the union men; they stood like men by the agreement and worked for \$1.75 when the despised "undesirables" got the \$2 for the same kind of work, in the same shop. A couple of weeks later, by the same procedure, the wages of the non-unionists was raised to \$2.25, while our "free borns" had to stick to the \$1.75 and the agreement.

JOSEPH WAGNER.

## Thompson at Jamestown

Organizer J. P. Thompson, who is now at Jamestown, N. Y., is meeting with his usual success in spreading the principles of Industrial Unionism and organizing the workers. A local paper speaks of the results of his work:

"There was a very large attendance at the meeting of the Industrial Workers' Union Tuesday evening in Carlson's Hall. The union was only organized last week, yet it has nearly 125 members. At the meeting last evening there were 35 applications received and 25 were initiated. A committee was appointed to look for a hall to hold meetings every week. On Friday evening, April 12th, there will be held a big mass meeting of metal workers with the intention of organizing a Metal Workers' Union in this city."

## Be on the Lookout

I. W. W. men everywhere are requested to be on the lookout for Secy-Treas. C. W. Moore, who skipped with the funds of Ouray Miners' Union. Full description of him in "Miners' Magazine." Address any information of him to president Ouray Miners' Union, Ouray, Colorado.

## PRESS COMMITTEE

Mixed Local No. 270, I. W. W., Houston, Tex., wishes to warn all locals against J. R. Robinson, whom they found it necessary to expel from membership for appropriating money belonging to the local. He has now left the city for parts unknown. This same Robinson has a trick of posing as a friend of the working class and as a "revolutionist" of the most radical kind, so as to easily deceive those who are not acquainted with his true character; aside from being a petty thief, he made himself generally obnoxious to those who had befriended him and was at last found to be a detriment, instead of a help, to the cause of labor.

By order of the local.

## New Charters Issued

Three new local charters issued during the week brings the total number of new local unions organized since the convention up to eighty-seven. That's some for the "toughest proletarian mob," eh?

# THE Industrial Union Bulletin

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## Our Representative at the Trial

**May 9th.** This is the date, after nearly fifteen months' imprisonment, that has been set for the trials in the Mine Owners' conspiracy to railroad Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to the gallows. The importance of this trial is keenly appreciated by Industrial Unionists, who have from the beginning been among the most active in arousing working class protests against the outrage. Realizing the absorbing interest the workers have in the progress and outcome of the trial, and wishing to give our readers first-hand reports of the proceedings, so far as we can, arrangements have been made with Fellow-worker Wade R. Parks to represent THE BULLETIN on the ground and make weekly reports direct to this paper.

Fellow-worker Parks is familiar with the case from the time of the arrests, February 18, 1906, and has followed the developments up to the present time. He will reach the scene of the trial the latter part of this month and readers of THE BULLETIN may expect to hear from him in the issue of May 4.

Wm. D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, will first be tried, separate trials having been agreed upon.

## EVEN THIS WON'T STOP US

As soon as the first edition of the Industrial Union Bulletin was printed application was filed with the Postoffice Department for second-class entry. Pending the granting of second-class privileges, we were required, as all publishers are, to deposit with the postmaster at Chicago an amount sufficient to cover the number of copies delivered at the postoffice each week at the rate of one cent each. This we have done, awaiting the decision of the department on our application. Six weeks are usually required by the department to investigate and determine the claims of an applicant. We looked for the decision last week and we got it, in the form of a call to meet a postoffice inspector at the Chicago office. The inspector informed us that the second-class entry was about to be granted when there was received at Washington a protest against the entry from the attorney of Sherman and Haunemann, the head and the tail of the reactionists who claim to be burdened with a consuming desire to serve the working class.

The inspector was satisfied as to all our claims, and the entry would undoubtedly have been granted but for the "protest." As a result of this action on the part of the allies of our enemies, some time will yet elapse before we are able to mail THE Bulletin at the pound rate, and we are bound to bear the trial Unionists to climb up the ranks to repel this new and contemptible assault. We are compelled, under these circumstances and until the matter is finally decided, as we have no doubt it will be, in our favor, to require one cent straight for all bundle orders, express charges to be paid by the purchaser. This is done to prevent too great a drain on the general funds of the organization, and is intended to be only temporary. No change is made for the present in the subscription, as we confidently expect to beat our adversaries at the game they have adopted. Affidavits have been filed and a statement forwarded to Washington setting forth substantial reasons why the "Industrial Worker" should be denied the second-class privilege, and excluded from the mails, and the matter will be fought out to the end.

## THE QUESTION NOT SETTLED

Although the Goldfield miners, after long deliberation, decided that it is impossible for them to withdraw from their affiliation with the Industrial Workers of the World, at least until after the convention of the Western Federation of Miners in June, the organs of the Mine Owners and Business Men's Association at Goldfield are shouting that the I. W. W. is "down and out," and the labor question in the Nevada camp is settled forever. But neither the business men of Goldfield nor the truculent agents to business interests in the A. F. of L. has the I. W. W. "down and out" in Nevada, or anywhere else. Through sheer force of circumstances the combination of speculators and gamblers with the traitors who profess friendship for the workers, may score what seems to them a victory; but to Industrial Unionists it is no more than a truce, a lull in the battle; we are not beaten, but only resting for a renewal of the conflict. The ending peace which the business ele-

ment thinks has been established will vanish again, because it could only be brought about by denying the workers a right to organize in a way that satisfied their conception of a real working-class organization. Every such conflict, where men and women are forced from their means of obtaining a livelihood because they will not abandon the right to organize as they desire, and are coerced into a form of organization which they condemn, only serves to increase the number of those who see through the flimsy contentions of capitalists and labor fakery that the interests of capital and labor are identical. And today there are more revolutionary miners in Goldfield than ever before in its short history. Silent they may be; but their silence is ominous, for it portends the unity of the working class will not prevail against the economic mastery of the united capitalist class. The labor question at Goldfield is not settled.

## THE NEW YORK "IMPOSTOR"

The exposure of the stupid and mendacious character of the Volkszeitung, an alleged Socialist paper published at New York, is the climax to the hypocrisy and double-dealing of the past year, and especially of the period since the convention of last September, towards the Industrial Workers of the World. That the parties who are responsible for the constant door-to-door work of this paper, and the medium of "Socialist" propaganda are free to print misrepresentations so gross and vile, is proof enough of the low moral level and dishonesty of their supporters. The spectacle of a journal reputed to be one of the organs of "strength of the Socialist movement in America resorting to journalism of the gutter, as the Volkszeitung does when it falsely puts into the mouth of Wm. D. Haywood sentiments that he never uttered, is one of the logical outgrowths of Socialist subservience to the A. F. of L. and spurious trades unionism for "political" support.

But the hypocrites and working-class impostors may as well understand now as at any time that their machinations will not prevail against the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization depends for its future, for its growing power as a class-conscious body of workmen, upon the adherence of no individual; however prominent any individual may be, his prominence does not necessarily make him desirable as a member of a revolutionary working-class organization, such as the I. W. W. is, and is recognized by the capitalist class to be. The workers are in the saddle, although here and there some body who nurses "grutch" may not think so; the members are supreme, and while it is desirable to reinforce the organization, the reinforcements must come from those who wholeheartedly approve our principles and stand squarely for our purposes. We have not made, nor are we making, any claims as to the attitude of Wm. D. Haywood toward the Industrial Workers of the World. We have too high a regard for the man, and we realize too keenly the hazardous position he is now in to do anything of that kind. But this much we will say: Haywood is a revolutionary industrial unionist today as he was in the first convention, when he said: "The aims and objects of this organization should be to put the working class in possession of the economic power, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution, without regard to capitalist masters. The American Federation of Labor, which presumes to be the labor movement of this country, is not a working class movement. It does not represent the working class."

The aim and object of the Industrial Workers of the World is to "put the working class in possession of the economic power, the means of life." At no time since the first convention adjourned, except during that brief period when Industrial Unionists who understood the revolution were locked in their struggle with the reactionary and disruptive faction that sought only to control the organization, has there been any halt in the forward movement for a real working-class organization. There is no power that can stop us now. The "wing" of events is toward our goal. Ours has been the greatest triumph over forces antagonistic to the truest interests of labor ever known in the country. Our enemies in the capitalist camp have been few in comparison with the enemies of the working class (Impostor) type, in the Socialist camp. Still our progress is scarcely impeded and our ultimate victory is sure.

## HATCHING ANOTHER CONSPIRACY

In spite of the disposition of the capitalist newspapers to suppress any information that might be prejudicial to the interests of the conspirators in the Moyer-Haywood case, there have at various times been outcroppings of a nature that involved many of the mine workers' enemies in the land, and cases which have been partially brought into the light in the West. It seems now to be a question of little doubt that among those involved is Wm. E. Borah, recently elected United States senator from Idaho, as a republican. His election as senator is understood to have been in recognition of his services to capitalist interests in the attempt of the latter to crush all organized resistance on the part of the workers to their despotism. Borah is reported to have been one of the results of the administration's order for the relentless prosecution of all parties connected with the land frauds.

Borah is one of the principal attorneys for the mine owning gang in the trial of Wm. D. Haywood, which opens at Boise, Idaho, May 9. He is reported to have been attorney for the mine owners for the very lumber companies that sent into Idaho the claim-jumpers who caused the murder for which Steve Adams is held.

There is a fear in some capitalist quarters that the reported indictment of Borah, if true, will result in quashing the indictments against Haywood and his associates. On the face of the current reports it clearly appears that if Borah and others have been indicted, there is no positive information given out for fear that the disclosure would help the men now in prison whom President Roosevelt has adjudged guilty in advance of a trial.

On April 15, the Chicago Tribune printed the following special dispatch from Boise:

"While it is said positively that United States Senator W. E. Borah has been indicted by the federal grand jury, presumably on a charge of conspiracy to defraud the government, he has not been arrested, nor has the indictment been returned. The day, it is said, will come time until after the trial of William D. Haywood, secretary and treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, for the alleged murder of ex-Gov. Steunenberg."

"Facts have been ascertained which explain the cause for delay in making the arrest of Senator Borah and others indicted with him. Senator Borah had demanded of Attorney General Bonaparte that evidence given before the grand jury be reviewed by the department of justice before papers are served on him and his co-defendants. The indictment is now on their way to Washington with evidence. Until Mr. Bonaparte personally has investigated the evidence there probably will be no further developments in the case."

"The attention of the national administration was directed to the land fraud investigation here two weeks ago, the charge being made that it was being conducted unfairly, that those against whom the investigation was directed were victims of a political plot, and the Western Federation of Miners was responsible for the grand jury's work. What happened in Washington after this information was received is not known, but not more than a week ago one of the high officials of the federal court in Boise telegraphed President Roosevelt that no indictment against any one connected with the Haywood trial would be announced until after the trial was concluded."

The moribund and dying "Industrial Worker" displays the same class of ignorance of Industrial Unionism that was exhibited at the convention last September. Here is a choice illustration of editorial assiduity: "There is no question but what the painter should have his union; there is no question but what the carpenter and plumbers should have their separate union; there is no question but what the bridge and structural iron workers should have their union. To which we may add, there is no question about the middle-headed condition of the writer of the above regarding what Industrial Unionism is."

If any additional evidence is necessary, to what we have repeatedly furnished, that the A. F. of L. is a scab-herding and scab-directing outfit, take that furnished by the United Brewery Workers' Journal in its issue for April 13. At Columbus, Ohio, in the presence of representatives of the brewers Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L., declared that "the A. F. of L. is willing and ready to furnish men to take the place of scabs in the breweries and in other industries, in case they went out on strike." Certainly, that is what the A. F. of L. is doing everywhere.

Organizer Hamilton of the A. F. of L. has been admitted to the churches of Goldfield to promote the holy mission of the "scab" and the labor fakir against the interests of labor. Another instance of the conversion of the temple into a den of thieves.

## Political Action

In the discussion of Socialist tactics endless confusion has arisen from misapprehension of the meaning of the words "political action" of the purely unionist.

Now political action literally means any action taken with regard to the political state (polity); and revolutionary political action is any action taken to overthrow the political state. It may be of three kinds:

(1) Insurrectional (armed rising).

As the revolutionist is not the slave of the form, he is not bound by the Great Britain) regard these three methods solely from the point of view of their efficiency for the purpose they are intended to serve, viz., the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist republic. We leave it to the members of the great and petty parliamentary, and therefore non-revolutionary "Socialist" parties to adopt or reject any method on theoretical grounds alone.

In order to arrive at the relative efficiency of these three methods, we must first consider the nature of the capitalist state against which we are using them. Throughout history the state has always been the citadel in which the class dominant at any particular time has entrenched itself to defend its privileged position, and to forcibly keep in subjection the classes under it. The state, therefore, being the instrument of class domination, must disappear with the coming of Socialism, under which classes will cease to exist.

The capitalist state is the collective power of the capitalist class organized in a military and bureaucratic system to defend their supremacy against any rising of the enslaved working class, and to act as arbitrator in the property squabbles of individual capitalists. Parliament is the organ through which the capitalist class controls the state.

But the capitalists control parliament, and through it, the state, because of their industrial supremacy. Their power arises from their ownership of the land, mines, factories, railways, and all other means of producing the necessities of life. It was only after they had become masters of these—only after they had become supreme on the industrial field—that the capitalist captured the political state, which until then had been controlled by the yeomanry aristocracy.

In like manner must the working class become strong enough on the industrial field to be able to stop or continue production in any or all industries at their

will before they can capture and destroy the political state.

But how can this be done? The capitalists acquired their ascendancy through the ownership of property, and the working class have no property. But the working class have this—it is they that actually carry out the operations of production, and by organization and discipline they can in every factory, mine, workshop, and railway become masters of the situation. Then, and not until then, will they be in a position to capture the political state. Therefore, we declare that first and foremost, industrial political action is necessary, and for that purpose the advance of the formation of a revolutionary industrial union of the working class, in order that the workers, organized in a manner corresponding to the development of capitalism, united in industries, instead of broken up into obsolete craft divisions, and inspired with revolutionary ideas, might, while organization were still incomplete, force concessions from the capitalists in the workshops, and when the complete union is formed, take and hold for themselves the means of production.

Parliament, we have said, is the organ through which the capitalist class controls the state, but it must be clearly born in mind that their parliamentary power is the reflex of their industrial power, and that, while they maintain the latter, they will be masters of the State and parliament, even though a majority of voters are against them; for, if a Socialist vote appears, the capitalists could either raise the franchise question, as they did a few years ago in Saxony, or shut up parliament altogether. Those "Socialists" or "Laborists" who advocate parliamentary action alone as being sufficient, are therefore grossly misleading the working class. In fact, pure and simple parliamentaryism wherever it has been practised, has in the main led to two disastrous results: (1) The "Socialist" or "Labor" party in question has fallen under the control of intellectuals such as lawyers and journalists, who prove the working class in parliament; and (2) The "Socialist" or "Labor" "M. P.'s" when elected soon find that they have no real power whatever in the capitalist parliament, because there is no organized force behind them, and so take to logrolling tactics. If personally honest, the revolutionary small reforms through by bargaining their support to one or other of the middle class parties; while, if openly dishonest, like Burns or Millerand, they sell themselves outright for cash or office. Thus the lines of the class struggle become more and more obliterated, and in a short time the "Socialist" or "Labor" deputies or M. P.'s become quite indistinguishable from other "honorable" members.

Does this mean that we are to eschew parliamentary action altogether? No; parliamentarism is only mischievous by itself. If it precedes the revolutionary organization of the workers on the industrial field, it can only bring disaster and betrayal; but with such an organization existing, the Socialist delegates might enter parliament with real force behind them, and the words they could utter there would be of great weight, and the demands of the millions of class-conscious workers, preparing and arming for the final struggle.

Parliamentary action of this kind would afford the only chance of a peaceful revolution, for when the capitalists recognize the organized and disciplined strength of the working class on the industrial field, they might see that the game was up, and agree to accept the issue of the electoral struggle.

A working class vote, if it has not behind it the might of the revolutionary workers, organized to enforce their ballot by their industrial power, is just as effectual a political weapon as would be a band of musicians on a modern battlefield with no fighting men to support them. Such a vote inspires the workers with the great and patriotic attempt. But, on the other hand, the Socialist ballot, backed by industrial might, may perhaps be the means of peacefully effecting the Social Revolution.

Of the three means of political action, armed insurrection, we must ask the same question, viz., is it efficient for the purpose in hand? Recent events in Russia tend to show the comparative powerlessness of untrained men, even though armed and inspired with desperate courage and enthusiasm, against the disciplined hirelings of capitalism, equipped as they are with every resource of science and civilization applied to the service of tyranny. There is little doubt, however, that armed force will play a part, though, in our opinion, in the final phase of the great and prolonged struggle that will usher in the Socialist Republic. The revolutionary Socialist will use armed insurrection as and when it may prove an efficient weapon.

To sum up, there are three kinds of political action: (1) industrial, (2) parliamentary, (3) insurrectional. The revolutionary Socialist gives the first place to industrial action, but recognizes the utility of the other two methods when rightly used. Not being obsessed by verbal formulae, he is ready to deal with new occasions when they arise, and employs any method that is really effective; he stands squarely face to face with the capitalist enemy all the time, and he will not tolerate or paralyze with that enemy. He does not, like the pure and simple parliamentary Socialist, begin with either sentimental vapors at one end of the scale, or logic spinning at the other, and then end up by becoming a middle-class politician. He does not waste time in the needless discussion of abstract questions, such as, "Should Socialists Drink?" or "Is Society an Organism?" when he should be organizing the working class, nor is he under the delusion that the capitalist class will be persuaded by votes alone to quietly surrender their sway. On the other hand, he seeks to educate the workers into class-consciousness, and to so organize them that with invincible strength, moral and material, they may march to the overthrow of capitalism and the foundation of the Socialist Republic.—R. M. in Edinburgh Socialist.

## WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS

Conducted by James P. Thompson

### Lesson III. The Form of Value, or Exchange Value.

[Note: In the preface to the first edition of Capital, Marx says: "The value form, whose fully developed shape is the money form, is very elementary and simple. Nevertheless, the human mind has not more than 2,000 years sought in vain to get to the bottom of it; whilst, on the other hand, to the successful analysis of much more composite and complex forms, there has been at least an approximation. Why? Because the body, as an organic whole, is more easy to analyze than the cells of that body. In the analysis of the simple forms, moreover, neither microscopes nor chemical reagents are of use. The force of abstraction must replace both. But in bourgeois society the commodity form of the product of labor—or the value form—is the commodity—is the economic cell-form. To the superficial observer, the analysis of these forms seems to turn upon minutiae. It does in fact deal with minutiae, but they are of the same order as those dealt with in microscopic anatomy."

With the exception of the section on value form, therefore, this volume cannot stand accused of the score of difficulties I presuppose, of course, a reader who is willing to learn something now, and therefore to think for himself."

"The few economists, among whom is S. Bailey, who have occupied themselves with the analysis of the form of value, have been unable to arrive at any result, first, because they confuse the form of value with value itself; and second, because, under the coarse influence of the practical bourgeois, they exclusively give their attention to the quantitative aspect of value. Their idea is: 'The command of quantity constitutes value. This is a common error. Many of the alleged teachers of the working class tell us, that when they say value, they mean exchange value, when the fact is, they don't know what they mean. In the fact that they themselves advertise the fact that they themselves are hopelessly muddled. This confusing of exchange value, or the form of value with value itself, gives rise to such expressions as this: 'the exchange value of a commodity is the quantity of labor embodied in it.' Now, let us see. The value of a commodity is the quantity of labor embodied in it. Let us take two commodities, say 20 yards of linen and one coat, the proportion in which the two are exchangeable does not depend upon the value of one alone. The value of the linen being given in magnitude, the proportion depends upon the value of the coat. Suppose the linen and the coat each have the same amount of labor, say 10 hours, embodied in them; they are then equal in value and we have this equation, 20 yards of linen equal in value to one coat. Now, suppose the labor necessary for the production of each is reduced by one-half, so that, instead of representing 10 hours of social labor, each now represents only 5. Both have fallen to one-half their former value, and yet the commodities are still equal in value, the proportion in which they are exchangeable remains the same, 20 yards of linen still equals one coat. 'A commodity is a use-value or object of utility and a value. It manifests itself as its twofold thing, that it is, as so much use-value, the form of independent form, viz., the form of exchange value. It never assumes this form when isolated, but only when placed in a value or exchange relation with another commodity of a different kind. The magnitude of the commodity's value is determined independently of its value form by the labor time necessary for its production.'

"Commodities come into the world in the shape of use-values, articles, or goods, such as iron, linen, corn, etc. This is their plain, homely, bodily form. They are, however, commodities only as soon as they are something twofold—both objects of utility, and at the same time, depositories of value. They manifest themselves, therefore, as commodities, or have the form of commodities, only in so far as they have two forms, a physical or natural form and a value form. 'The reality of the value of commodities differs in this respect from Dame Quickly, that we don't know 'where to have it.' The value of commodities is the very opposite of the coarse materiality of their substance.'"

"Q. Is the value of commodities composed of matter?"  
A. "No, not an atom of matter enters into its composition."  
Q. Turn and examine a single commodity by itself as we will, yet, insofar as it remains an object of value, does it seem impossible to grasp it?"  
A. "Yes."

Q. Does the value of commodities have a purely social reality?"  
A. "Yes."

Q. They acquire this reality only insofar as they are expressions or embodiments of what?"  
A. "One identical social substance, viz., human labor."

Q. Does it follow as a matter of course, that value can only manifest itself in the social relation of commodity to commodity?"  
A. "Yes."

[Note: "In fact, we started from exchange value, or the exchange relation of commodities, in order to get at the value that lies hidden behind it. We must now return to this form, under which value first appears to us."  
"Everyone knows, if he knows nothing else, that commodities have a value form common to them all, and presenting a marked contrast with the varied bodily forms of their use-values. I mean their money form. Here, however, a task is set us, the performance of which has never yet been attempted by bourgeois economy—the task of tracing the genesis of this money-form, developing the expression of value implied in the value of relation of commodities, from its simplest, almost imperceptible outline, to the dazzling

money-form. By doing this we shall, at the same time, solve the riddle presented by money itself."  
Q. What is the simplest value relation?"  
A. "That of one commodity to some other commodity of a different kind."  
Q. What supplies us with the simplest expression of the value of a single commodity?"  
A. "The relation between the values of two commodities."

Q. Give an example of the elementary or accidental form of value?"  
A. "20 yards of linen = 1 coat, or 20 yards of linen are worth 1 coat."

1. "The Two Poles of the Expression of Value: Relative Form. Equivalent Form."

[Note: "The whole mystery of the form of value lies hidden in this elementary form. Its analysis, therefore, is our real difficulty. Here two different kinds of commodities (in our example the linen and the coat) evidently play two different parts. The linen expresses its value in the coat; the coat serves as the material in which that value is expressed. The former plays an active part, the latter a passive part."

Q. When does the value of a commodity appear in relative form?"

A. "When it expresses its value in another commodity."

Q. When does a commodity officiate as equivalent, or appear in equivalent form?"

A. "When it serves as the material in which the value of another commodity is expressed."

[To be continued.]

## OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

National Office: 310 Bush Temple, Chicago

### Call for Referendum

A great international gathering of representatives of labor organizations of the world will take place from August 18th to August 24th, 1907, in the city of Stuttgart, Germany.

The subject of Industrial Unionism (Syndicalism) will be given deep and epoch-making consideration. Labor representatives from Italy, France, Russia, Australia, and other lands will voice the demands of the toilers everywhere that the economic organization, aimed to be the superstructure of an "Industrial Communism," is essentially the strongest instrument for the protection and advancement of the interests of the working class.

Parliamentarians and intellectual combat against the rising tide of Industrial Unionism, and the advocates of Industrial Unionism look to America for support in their propaganda of labor's international industrial program.

Misrepresented as the "Industrial Workers of the World" have been and are, by individuals and parties who would find use the working class for the furtherance of their own selfish designs, the duty becomes imperative upon this organization to have its program made known throughout the world at this Stuttgart congress.

International relations between economic organizations of all lands can be established there and then, in accordance with the program adopted at the last I. W. W. convention. The organized workers from Europe, Asia or any other continent will be organized to remain united men in America also, and help the daily battles against the capitalist class, and strive with all others for a better day and a higher civilization.

The General Executive Board has decided that the I. W. W. shall be represented by a delegate, subject to an expression of the members by a referendum vote on this subject.

In pursuance with this action, a referendum is herewith ordered. All Industrial Unions and branches thereof should take this matter up at the next regular meeting, or a special meeting may be called.

The voting blank accompanying this call must be filled out properly by the canvassing committee of one union, and returned to headquarters, 310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., to arrive not later than June 1st, 1907.

In order to expedite matters, unions should also make nominations for delegates, so that one may be chosen in case a majority of members vote in favor of sending a delegate to the Stuttgart International Socialist and Labor Congress.

Trusting that all unions will take action on this referendum, we remain,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

W. E. TRAUTMANN,

General Secretary, I. W. W.

By order of the General Executive Board.

## Plain Answers

### TO PERTINENT QUESTIONS

"Do not take up the editor's time with long queries; put your question in as few words as possible."

L. M.—The court in the injunction case found that the decisions of its members and the right to vote was final and binding and could not be reviewed by the court. This sustained our contention. The convention decided on the qualifications of all delegates seated and their right to vote was determined solely by the convention itself. The lawyer for the reactionists (Stedman) did not know the facts in the case and consequently made statements that were contrary to the facts. He was ignorant of the most palpable truths in the case; and that was perhaps the reason for the "brain-storm" he referred to. That is, however, his normal mental state.

Office of "The Industrial Union Bulletin"—310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.



# The Foul and Mendacious Folkszeitung of New York

**Deadly Parallel Shows the Customary Methods of the Unclean Thing to Deceive and Mislead the Workers.**

In its issue of April 7, "Der New Yorker Volkszeitung," organ of the A. F. of L. and the S. P., prints an article on the Moyer-Haywood case and quotes certain letters to the Montana News, written by Ida Crouch Hazlett, in a manner quite characteristic of the characterless bunch of working-class flimflammers of the lying Volkszeitung.

"In another article the comrades tell of an interview with William D. Haywood: 'A few days ago, shortly before the commencement of the court trial, Haywood was in the court room. I improved the time very pleasantly in a conversation with Haywood on the movement, and his work while in prison. We spoke also of the snail in the Industrial Workers, and the defections of several Socialists. I asked him what he thought of the situation as it now stood.'

"We are guiding the ship now in its proper course," he answered. 'We have cast off the undesirable element. The dirt collected at the surface, and had to be skimmed off. Aren't you aware that all preserves are made that way? They may look all clear and good, yet they are stirred and stirred till all the dregs come to the surface and can be removed with a spoon. This is the whole clean. You see that it is just what we are doing now. In a short time everything will be in shape.'

"Haywood declared the time had not been long to him. He was studying law, and preparing for his future work. Besides this, he was reading the historical and economic works of Lecky, Draper, and Buckle. He said that the time to the workers' class will be made by knowing the aims and objects of the labor movement as he does, and also equipped with the weapon of law to be used against the oppressors. It must be a whole man who 'turns the screw' of a prison cell into the brightness of a study."

From the foregoing "Der Volkszeitung" argues:

"That open and unmistakable declaration of William D. Haywood against the so-called revolutionary element of the faction of the Industrial Workers of the World, led by De Leon and DeLeonism, comes just at the right time as Dr. Leon for the last four weeks on an agitation tour through the West which was undertaken from the beginning to influence the members of the Western Federation of Miners against their present national officers, and paved the way for a 'revolutionary' change in their May convention. De Leon is trying in a clumsy way to worm himself into the confidence of Haywood, and separate him from Moyer and the other old tried and true comrades in the battle, in the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners."

"For that purpose, that old enemy of the Socialist movement in a letter to his mouthpiece, dated March 20, from Nevada, is not ashamed to put into definite form certain rumors which have before now been often hinted at, namely: 'That Orchard and Moyer are not the means of the conspiracy against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, but, as he has been informed in Denver, the kidnapping of the three men is a part of an attempt to put the Western Federation of Miners in the hands of the like Mahoney, O'Neill and Kirwan, and through them use the same as a weapon in the interests of the American Federation of Labor against the Industrial Workers of the World. Of course, the Mine Owners' Association is behind that conspiracy, and by this inference O'Neill, editor of the Miners' Magazine, Mahoney the acting president, and Kirwan, the acting secretary treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, have allowed themselves to be bought by the Mine Owners to deliver Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to the gallows, and to the Western Federation of Miners to the American Federation of Labor. It may be madness, but there is method in it."

## LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

MINUTES OF ADVISORY BOARD,  
SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1907.  
PRESENT: P. L. LAWSON, J. PLUMMER.

The following letter was read from the Snow Wire Works Co. of Rochester, N. Y., April 9, 1907:

Industrial Workers of the World,  
Chicago, Ill.

Gentlemen:  
Until recently we believed our men were organized and members of your Order. Lately they have changed and affiliated with the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Will you kindly advise us if there are any other shops in our same line of business which you have organized, and what you could do in the way of furnishing us with men in case we should desire?

Your prompt reply will greatly oblige.  
Yours very truly,  
SNOW WIRE WORKS COMPANY,  
A. R. HELMER,  
Secretary.

The General Secretary reported that he had written the following letter in reply, and asked for the approval of the Advisory Board. The approval was unanimously given. The letter is as follows:

April 13, 1907.  
Snow Wire Works Co.,  
76-84 Exchange St.,  
Rochester, N. Y.  
Gentlemen:  
Yours of the 9th inst. to hand. In

The "Montana News" of Thursday, April 4, contains the following, over the signature of Ida Crouch Hazlett:

"The Ada County jail occupies the main floor of the court house. It is all above ground. The large room where I talked with Haywood is used as a sitting room by day for our men. Pettibone was sick the morning I called, and Moyer was taking his exercise. Haywood was sitting at the table writing. A work on the criminal law lay beside him. I have noted before that he is using his enforced idleness in the study of law, looking toward a legal career."

"Each of the men has a cell where they sleep at night.  
"Haywood talked with me about an hour. I asked him if he got nervous and worried, and experienced the mental anxiety and real suffering, which one might naturally expect to be the fate of men whose necks are being played for in so intense and tragic a game."

"He smiled light-heartedly as he answered, 'Do I show any outward evidences of it?'

"I assured him that he certainly did not.  
"He then went on to say that the work of the Western Federation was moving forward just as well as if he were not there in prison; and that the fact of his being there made it go better. The exigencies of the class struggle had placed him where he was, and he was fully prepared to bear whatever inconvenience might be involved in the fight."

"Haywood went on to talk of the conditions of organizations among the workmen class at present. He spoke of the wonderful advance along industrial lines in cities like Portland where even the wharves have been organized into the Industrial Workers of the World, and where the whole city is practically at the mercy of the working class. He spoke of the conflict in the ranks of organized labor at Goldfield, but gave it as the result of the mine owners, the employing class, spreading dissension among the workers in order to divide them and keep them from forming a coalition that would mean disaster to the capitalist rule."

"He seemed particularly pleased that the Montana News was making such a strenuous stand for constructive organization in the Socialist movement."

"It is what we have got to have," he said.

"Through a blurb somewhere the News has not been received regularly at the jail, and he had not been aware before that it was owned and published by the Socialist Party of the United States, and he said that he was more than ever interested in it because of that. As I told him of its ten thousand readers, of the local Butte taking 3,000 copies for distribution, he got an immediate and accurate account of the defense side through the use of its well-equipped plant, motor, press, type, stock, and a linotype outfit to be installed, all owned by the Socialists of Montana, he seemed delighted, and said that was the way to go about it."

"He asked particularly if the Mill and Smeltermen's Union of Butte, which was such a fine militant organization, and was so persistent in spreading education and economic literature, that they took advantage of every opportunity to inform and develop the intelligence of the workers."

"When I told him of the policy the News had taken as an organ of the Socialist Party, not to participate in any of the discussions among the unions, but to stand for organization on political and economic lines whenever it was helpful, and to remain neutral as to the workers' class interests, and that, in union alone there is strength, he said we were undeniably right. Labor in its economic interests was in a formative state in America at present—an experimental state, and he said that the direction its evolution would take. But the Socialist movement knew its goal, and that goal at least must not be confused by counter issues."

Looking over the records of the organization that were formerly connected with the Industrial Workers of the World, I find that you are right that the men in your employment were formerly members of the United Metal Workers, an organization that was until recently a part of the Industrial Workers of the World.

I further find that said United Metal Workers' organization was in a conflict with the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and that both organizations alternately in times of conflict with the employers of labor, furnished men to take the place of others, and these organizations were furnishing, as it is termed, in the workers' language, "strike breakers."

From your letter it is apparent that your expert in the Industrial Workers of the World to furnish men in case there should be a disagreement with said International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, believing, perhaps, that this organization would countenance a similar policy as was practiced in the United Metal Workers before they became a part of the Industrial Workers of the World.

I wish to state that Charles O. Sherman, who was then national secretary of the United Metal Workers, and Mr. Kirkpatrick and McCarthy, who were President and Vice-President respectively of said organization of United Metal Workers, have agreed in many instances to furnish men when requested to do so by manufacturers in the Bridge and

Structural Iron Industry, even if these men were to take the places of other workers who had grievances against the firm, but these gentlemen, and the organizations they formerly represented are no longer parts of this organization for the sole reason that the I. W. W. will in no way, shape or manner aid any manufacturer in getting employees to take the places of their employees with whom said firms have grievances on account of their connection with some other labor organizations that may have conflicts as to the character of work that each organization claims jurisdiction over.

We must therefore decline to furnish you men for the purpose stated in your communication. On the contrary, we will inform your present employees of the contents of your communication, although they are not members of the Industrial Workers of the World, so that in case of any conflict that may arise on account of the alleged jurisdiction, they will know that the Industrial Workers of the World is not organized to fight any labor organization or a class of workers even if they are not organized.

Yours truly,  
WM. E. TRAUTMANN,  
Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.

Letters were read from Organizer Forberg, Pittsburg, Kansas, in which he stated that she had been at Frontenac and arranged for two meetings and expected to be able to organize an English speaking coal miners' local at mine 15. The condition of the coal miners, he stated, was very deplorable, as many of them were only working one or two days every week, but had to go to the shaft each morning to report, and see if they will have work, so that makes it impossible to work at anything else when mine is not running. She reported having held meetings in Emporia and Hartford, but found that in those districts the I. W. W. movement was little known and there was not yet opportunity to organize locals.

Letter was read from a committee of Local 230, Oklahoma City, expressing entire satisfaction with the excellent work done by voluntary Organizer Simon. Fellow-worker Simon was to leave in a few days for Iowa, and the local of Oklahoma City regretted his departure very much, as they had hoped to have him go into the coal field about 125 miles east of their city, as he was a coal miner and would have great effect in organizing in that industry.

Letter received from Organizer Thompson, from Jamestown, N. Y. James Thompson, he stated, was full of local workers, being a carpenter, furniture maker, besides metal workers, etc. Thousands of I. W. W. bills had been distributed at the gates of those factories, and there will be few slaves in that town who have never heard of the I. W. W. He was going to ask the I. W. W. men to get through the meeting on Monday night, and he had consented to do so.

The Wood Carvers' local of the A. F. of L. were talking over the question of going over to the I. W. W. in a body, and were going to arrange a date for Thompson to address them.

He acknowledged receipt of Italian letters, and was arranging a meeting for Italians. He stated in his letter that he was keeping in touch with Electrical Workers in Lynn and Pittsfield, and would make arrangements to go there later, unless other developments occurred.

Letters were read from Organizer Heddwood, covering the situation and the close of the strike at Portland. The Editor of the Industrial Union Bulletin was instructed to give all the information therein contained in the next issue of the bulletin.

Letter received from Organizer Cox, from Springfield, Ill., in which he stated that owing to lack of finances he had been unable to pay the dues of the local, and was carrying on as active propaganda as he would like, and he felt that it was absolutely necessary that more organizers should be sent throughout Illinois to create a more general feeling among the mine workers.

The General Secretary was asked if Organizer Cox's account was paid fully up to date, covering wages and expenses, and he stated that the organization was indebted for one week's account to Organizer Cox. The General Secretary was instructed to write to Organizer Cox, and to pay him the week's indebtedness at once, and stating that at the present time the placing of a number of organizers throughout the State of Illinois was beyond the finances of the organization, and asking him if in his opinion his own personal services could carry on as active propaganda as he would like, and he felt that it was absolutely necessary that more organizers should be sent throughout Illinois to create a more general feeling among the mine workers.

Letters were read from Organizer Etnor, containing report of his connection with the Portland strike, and also answering the suggestion made to him in regard to becoming general Italian speaker. He stated that while he spoke Italian, yet he was not conversant with the various dialects spoken in that language, and suggested that if his services were wished among Italians they could be best employed on the west coast where there were over five thousand Italians engaged in different occupations, and who while wishing to be reorganized had entirely refused to go into any pure and simple organization.

The General Secretary was instructed to take this matter up with Organizer Thompson, and report as early as possible.

Letter was read from Organizer Bohling, reporting meeting held in Louisville, Colo., where a number had joined the organization. He reported that the Tolson Workers' Union would probably go to pieces in Denver, and he also enclosed his bill for expenses on the train to Louisville, amounting to \$7.65. The bill was ordered paid.

Letter received from Fellow-worker W. J. Rogers, Lake Charles, La., in regard to the lumber industry of the south, to be used in the publication of a leaflet, and stating that the two locals that he had organized some months ago were holding interesting meetings and gradually increasing in membership.

Letter and report read from Organizer Walsh, in which he stated having held meetings at Los Angeles and on the last three days of the week ending March 6th he had been sick and unable to leave the house. He enclosed collection to organizers' fund \$13.00, and remittance for buttons sold \$43.30.

Letter received from Fellow-worker Hapgood, Skowhegan, Me., dated April 1st, stating that a conference had been held with the company and they had offered to grant every demand but the important one of refusing to discharge one of the scabs and reinstate all their old employees. The matter was placed before the union, and a unanimous vote was taken in favor of continuing the strike until the company would concede all their demands. The plant was still tied up, and if the situation went against them they would settle, but as everything was in their favor they decided to hold out for every demand.

Fellow-worker Hapgood stated, "The strikers are like an army of veterans, lots of the members with families having refused to take one cent out of the relief fund so that the more destitute ones could be supplied."

Letter was read from Bert Surges, of Vancouver, B. C., stating that the lumber hauler's local in Vancouver had taken in twenty-two members at their meeting three weeks ago, and had had successful meetings, taking in more men. The mixed local was not getting many new recruits as there seemed to be some management amongst the members. He advised the sending of an organizer to British Columbia as soon as possible.

Surges stated that a strike was on in the Building Industry connected with the A. F. of L., and that the mixed local had passed resolutions that no member of the I. W. W. should work in the Building Industry so long as the strike lasts. Surges stated that only the carpenters and painters of the A. F. of L. were striking, and asked if it was expected that I. W. W. plumbers, plasterers, laborers, etc., should cease work in behalf of carpenters and painters. The General Secretary was instructed to inform Surges that under the circumstances stated by him, where only two crafts of the A. F. of L. were on strike, and no other part of that industry connected with the A. F. of L. were also on strike, it was not proper to expect I. W. W. men in the other branches to strike in sympathy unless they saw they had control of the situation. If the A. F. of L. plumbers, plasterers, and the other crafts connected with the building industry should go out with their fellow workers of the crafts already on strike, then most certainly whatever I. W. W. men were at work in those trades should also cease work.

Letter was read from Executive Board Member Cox, regarding the meeting of previous meeting of the Advisory Board and the action taken in sending out a referendum on the question of sending a delegate to Stuttgart congress. He reported that the local at Blue Island, Ill., was gathering new members, and he hoped to see a number of switchmen in the first of May.

Letter was read from Organizer Fox, reporting that they are having many meetings in Columbus, O., and that the field there seems to be favorable for culture. Organizer Fox stated that he proposes to stay there for four or five weeks and anticipate good results.

Letter received from Assistant Secretary-Treasurer Haggerty of Butte, giving details of conditions in Butte and Montana, and informing the Board that he expects to be in Chicago soon to take up his duties as assistant secretary-treasurer.

Charter application received from a local union of Engine Workers, Paterson, N. J. The application was signed by 120 names. The General Secretary was instructed to grant the charter and a complete set of supplies.

Charter application received from Mine Workers Industrial Union of Westmoreland, Pa. The application was signed by 100 names and was accompanied by the necessary charter fee. The General Secretary was instructed to grant the necessary charter and supplies.

Charter application received for a local union in the Italian language at Oakland, Cal. The application was accompanied by the necessary charter fee of \$10 and was signed by 100 names. The General Secretary-Treasurer was instructed to grant the necessary charter and supplies.

Letter received from Organizer Katz, stating that \$10 should be paid to Fellow Workers Camilla and Gualtero for expenses in going to Chicago, and that local of engine workers at Paterson, Ill. stated that both were strong advocates and good speakers for the I. W. W. The amount was ordered paid.

Letter was read from Clothing Workers' Union No. 50 of New York, enclosing a list of names of workers, and a petition to the by-laws, which were forwarded for approval. They were handed to the committee on by-laws for consideration.

Letter was read from Fellow Worker St. John regarding the situation at Goldfield, information regarding which was instructed to be placed in the Bulletin. Fellow Worker St. John brought up the matter of insurance agents being members of the I. W. W. He expressed the opinion that he could not see that insurance agents had any place in our ranks, as they are not workers, any more than a gambler working for wages in a gambling house, and have no interest in the working class or in any working class organization. He called for an expression of the executive board on the matter. The General Secretary was instructed to take the matter up with the other members of the executive board, and get their opinions on the same, to be brought before the advisory board at a later date.

The following communication was read before the board:  
Denver, Colo. April 6, 1907.  
To Wm. E. Trautmann, Secretary, and the Members of the General Executive Board, Greeting:

Fellow Workers:  
After the article "A Forgotten Tramp" by Robt. R. La Monte, in last week's paper, was in type, we learned that the New York Labor News Co. has a translation of Marx's "Discourse on Free Trade" by Florence Kelly. The speech, however, is not widely known, and that portion of it which appeared in "A Forgotten Tramp" was Mr. La Monte's own translation from the French.

At the last meeting of Denver District Council, held April 1st, I was instructed to send you a copy of the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

Whereas, Our attempt to secure the services of Fellow Worker Cox to speak at the Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone Protest Meeting, held in Denver, March 30, proved futile, from the fact of the reactionary tendency of some delegates to the protest committee, an organization formed of delegates from the S. P., A. F. of L., Bricklayers' Union, Switchmen's Union, Jewish Bund, S. L. P. and I. W. W. organizations, under whose auspices the Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone protest meeting was held; and

Whereas, The assertion was made (in a committee meeting of said protest committee) by George Crampton, a member of Local No. 15, Blacksmiths and Helpers (and an I. W. W. reactionary), John W. O'Neill, Editor of the Miners' Magazine, had declared that he (O'Neill) would not speak on the same platform with Fellow Worker Cox, said I. W. W. Member George Crampton further declared that Acting President Mahoney and Acting Secretary-Treasurer Kirwan of the W. F. of M. had said that if Cox spoke at said Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone protest meeting of March 30th, that the meeting would be repudiated by the W. F. of M. and

Whereas, There is a collusion on the part of the present acting officers of the W. F. of M. and other reactionaries, here in Denver, to hamper all the efforts of the I. W. W. locals to reach the working people with the truths of Industrial Unionism; therefore be it

Resolved, That in the interest of truth and for the exposition of the nefarious and treasonable work of John M. O'Neill in winning and dining with the mine owners, and A. F. of L. labor fakirs in Springfield, Ill., that we request the E. B. to take some action for having W. F. Cox in Denver during the W. F. of M. Convention in May, knowing that if this request can be complied with that it will be the means of opening the eyes of the delegates to avoid convention to the antagonism of the reactionaries to Industrial Unionism, and thereby help to cement the endeavor of all revolutionists to perfect a strong Industrial Union, and hasten the day when we can remove all labor fakery from our backs.

I am fraternally,  
JAS. W. HAWKINS,  
Delegate to Council from Local 125, I. W. W.

It was resolved that the request in regard to having Fellow Worker Cox visit Denver would be taken up at the next meeting of the Advisory Board.

Letter was read from Fellow Worker Jos. Wagner of St. Louis in regard to the organization of Roumanians and Macedonians. The information contained in the letter was ordered to be published in the Bulletin. The General Secretary was instructed to take the matter up with Fellow Worker Wagner with a view to ultimately obtaining his services as an organizer of the I. W. W. amongst the Roumanians.

The auditing committee, consisting of James St. John, was instructed to audit the books for January, February and March and report within two weeks.

The General Secretary reported that a protest had been entered by the attorneys of Sherman, Hannemann and associates against allowing the Industrial Union Bulletin to go through the mails or receiving second-class entry, and a government official had been here all day Friday investigating the matter, and it is possible that second-class entry will be denied by the postoffice authorities.

Moved by Lawson, seconded by Plummer, that the General Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to take immediate action in the matter and enter protest against the "Industrial Worker" as issued by Sherman and Hannemann, on the ground that it is issued in violation of the law. Carried.

The following bills were approved:  
Bill No. 1  
April 5, W. W. Cox, organizer, for week ending March 22, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

629 April 5, C. H. Hanson, organizer, for week ending April 5, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

631 April 10, D. R. Ginsburg, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

632 April 10, Wm. R. Fox, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

634 April 10, J. W. Butler, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

635 April 10, F. Heddwood, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

636 April 10, J. P. Thompson, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

637 April 10, C. H. Hanson, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

638 April 10, M. Forberg, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

639 April 10, F. Heddwood, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

640 April 10, D. R. Ginsburg, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

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643 April 10, F. Heddwood, organizer, for week ending April 10, salary, \$18; hotel and meals, \$13; mileage, \$4.15; postage, \$1.10; \$31.40.

On motion, adjourned.

After the article "A Forgotten Tramp" by Robt. R. La Monte, in last week's paper, was in type, we learned that the New York Labor News Co. has a translation of Marx's "Discourse on Free Trade" by Florence Kelly. The speech, however, is not widely known, and that portion of it which appeared in "A Forgotten Tramp" was Mr. La Monte's own translation from the French.

## Portland Strike Fund Report

The following is a report of the financial side of the great Industrial Workers' strike at Portland, Oregon. Next week we shall have something to say regarding this extraordinary incident in the class struggle. In the meantime readers are asked to carefully consider this report, in which they will find much that is suggestive and deeply significant.

### RECEIPTS FOR STRIKE FUND

March		
14 Tacoma, No. 149, I. W. W.	\$	10.00
15 Seattle, No. 178, I. W. W.	"	50.00
16 Collection, mass meeting	"	52.00
16 A. Payne, Tacoma	"	2.00
19 Index, Wash., No. 148, W.	"	10.88
20 Burke, Idaho, No. 10, W. F.	"	50.00
20 Los Angeles, No. 12, I. W.	"	20.00
20 W.	"	20.00
20 Roseland, Wash., W. F. M.	"	25.00
21 San Francisco Baccalari party	"	10.00
21 Hanquinn, Wash., No. 274	"	14.00
21 South Bend, Wash., No. 360	"	10.00
22 San Francisco, No. 363, I.	"	10.00
22 W. W.	"	30.00
22 Seattle, No. 178, I. W. W.	"	18.82
22 Spokane, No. 322, I. W. W.	"	34.00
24 Collection, Arion Hall	"	17.00
24 Greenwald, B. C., No. 311	"	5.00
24 I. W. W., No. 42, W. F.	"	10.00
24 Mullan, Idaho, No. 10, W. F.	"	20.00
24 Missoula, Mont., No. 250, I.	"	10.00
24 W.	"	10.00
24 Fruitvale, Cal., No. 322, I.	"	15.00
24 Eureka, Cal., No. 320, I. W.	"	68.50
24 Tongue, Nev., No. 235, I.	"	18.00
24 San Francisco, No. 363, I.	"	8.00
24 Roseland, B. C., No. 311	"	25.00
24 Goodfield, Nev., No. 220, W.	"	350.00
24 F. M.	"	18.00
24 Healy, Nev., No. 245, W.	"	18.00
24 F. M.	"	18.00
24 Mammoth, Utah, No. 238, W.	"	10.00
24 F. M.	"	10.00
24 Jerome, Ariz., No. 101, W.	"	25.00
24 F. M.	"	25.00
24 Moly, B. C., No. 31, W. F.	"	26.00
24 Seattle, No. 178, I. W. W.	"	11.00
1 Tongue, No. 225, I. W. W.	"	6.00
1 Riverbank, Idaho, No. 420, W.	"	100.00
1 Aspen, Colo., No. 6, W. F.	"	10.00
1 Round Bay, B. C., No. 14, W.	"	6.00
1 Eureka, Calif., No. 320, I. W.	"	38.00
1 Cobalt, Ont., No. 146, W.	"	50.00
1 M.	"	25.00
1 Kofa, Ariz., No. 98, W. F.	"	25.00
1 Globe, Ariz., No. 60, W. F.	"	100.00
1 West Jordan, Utah, No. 249	"	10.00
1 W. F. M.	"	4.75
1 San Francisco, B. L. P.	"	100.00
1 McCalister, Ariz., No. 118, W.	"	28.00
1 Butte, Mont., No. 5, I. W.	"	15.00
1 Seattle, No. 178, I. W. W.	"	42.50
1 T. S. Marshall, No. 44, I.	"	25.00
1 Victoria, B. C., No. 44, I.	"	10.00
1 Teledale, Colo., No. 163, W.	"	3.00
1 E. M.	"	3.00
1 New York, No. 59, I. W. W.	"	15.00
1 Benning, Mont., W. F. M.	"	5.00
1 Grand Forks, B. C., W. F. M.	"	5.00
1 New Bedford, Mass., I. W.	"	10.00
1 W.	"	10.00

